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EDITOR R.PALME DUTT

LABOUR MONTHLY

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Andrew Rothstein
1917—1922—1972

Michael Meacher MP
The Rich and the Poor

John Hostettler
Picketing

Alan Brown
A Programme for NOW

Wages and Inflation/P. Tait : Munich/I. Maisky
D.N.P./Janet Jagan : Red Cavalry/P. Kerrigan

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LABOUR MONTHLY

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Notes of the Month

1917—1922—1972

'The October Revolution, effected under the direct guidance of the Bolshevik Party and the great leader of the Russian and international proletariat, V. I. Lenin, was the greatest event and turning-point in the history of mankind, determining the direction of all subsequent revolutionary changes in the world.'

From November 7 greetings sent to the CPSU and Soviet Government by the Polish United Workers' Party and Polish Government.

'We admire the outstanding progress achieved by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics during this period, and wish it a bright future.'

From greetings sent by Premier Indira Gandhi, on behalf of the Indian Government and people.

'From the time that there was set up, in 1922, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, whose fiftieth anniversary we are celebrating at the end of this year, socialism has shown the whole world that it assures the possibility at last of establishing genuine equality among the peoples. . . . While capitalist society is proving ever more incapable of solving the problems of our time, your social achievements, your economic successes, your international activity in favour of the widest co-operation, have represented valuable assistance for all the peoples fighting against monopolist exploitation and imperialist aggression.'

From greetings sent to the CPSU by the French Communist Party.

November 17, 1972

These were typical messages from representatives of the three main streams of world struggle against imperialism—the socialist countries, the countries of recent or present battle against colonialism and the working class of advanced capitalist states—sent when the Soviet workers and collective farmers were assembling at thousands of demonstrations to celebrate the 55th anniversary of the October revolution. To no country did the concluding words quoted from the French Communists' message apply with greater force than to Great Britain. And the contrast between the planned economy of a developed socialist society and the results of capitalist management in this oldest country of imperialism was never so glaring. A ten months' increase in industrial output of nearly 7 per cent in the Soviet Union, on a volume of production last year far greater than

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in Britain—and British economists worrying whether this country can manage a growth of 5 per cent. In the course of 1971 and 1972 the Soviet Union built 270 new consumer goods factories and expanded the production machinery in 400 more, while at the present time over 1,000 more are under construction—but in Britain Heath and his colleagues are primarily concerned with the 'freeze' aimed at restricting, even diminishing, consumption. Soviet wages up well over 6 per cent, under plans worked out in close agreement with the trade unions, while prices remained stationary or fell: teachers in particular had a substantial rise this year—while some 2 million British workers were faced with the need for strike action in order to keep pace with the unchecked rise in the cost of living ('It is going to be difficult to convince the average shopper that retail prices are being frozen': *Economist*, November 11, 1972). No unemployment in the Soviet Union, as for many years past—while in Britain there are not far off 900,000 registered unemployed, apart from the probably 500,000 unregistered. Eleven million people housed or given improved housing at nominal rents, in January-October 1972—but the Tory Government, with the Housing Finance Act, has condemned millions to higher rents and worse housing, while in London alone 8,000 homeless young people are 'living rough'. Far from inflation undermining the Soviet economy, state revenue has for many years past achieved a surplus over expenditure, with the rouble as a consequence steadily increasing its purchasing power—while the pound sterling is under constant threat from the pressure launched by speculations of native monopolists, foreign bankers, and the Tory Government's policies, aimed at raising living costs still further. Assured markets constantly expanding, thanks to the ever-closer co-ordination of economies and long-term treaties promoted by the socialist countries through their Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (planning for some 360 million people)—while the British, condemned without consultation by their Tory Government and the right-wing Labour renegades who gave Heath his repeated majorities, await with justifiable trepidation entry into the international super-monopolists' Common Market (200 million people), knowing that it will bring Britain still higher prices and more unemployment. Ever-growing numbers of young people getting higher and technical education in the Soviet Union (9 millions of them studying in 1972, with a substantial rise in their grants this year)—while in Britain tens of thousands of students are pressing for increases in their grants in order to keep body and soul together, and serious debate has begun among the Tories about reducing the

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'excessive' numbers of students. In the USSR dozens of nationalities large and small celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of their common socialist life—while in Britain the devilish old policy of 'divide and rule' brings increasing bloodshed to Northern Ireland, as it did in India and Pakistan, mandated Palestine, central Africa and Cyprus. Truly an instructive picture!

Greetings—Wholehearted and Otherwise

All the Soviet advances listed, together with marked successes in the arts and sciences, were made in spite of having as yet to maintain considerable armed forces and armaments, owing to the persistent refusal so far of the US and its satellite states to accept the numerous Soviet proposals for abolishing nuclear weapons and heavily cutting down conventional arms. The tens of millions who marched on November 7 in the hundreds of towns and thousands of country districts of the Soviet Union were all the more conscious themselves, like their foreign friends, of the triumph of the socialist way of life for which their grandparents, their fathers and mothers, had worked and fought since that great November day when the Petrograd workers 'shook the spoiler down'. This triumph was incidentally reflected in a curiously differentiated way by the wording of the messages printed in the Soviet press. The socialist countries and the Communist Parties sent their congratulations on the anniversary of 'the great October socialist revolution'. So did some of the countries which shook off the yoke of imperialism after the second world war, mindful of the support they have had from the USSR: such were Syria and Burma, Pakistan and India, Egypt and Congo, Democratic Yemen, Iraq and Cyprus. Among the capitalist states, only one or two (like Finland and Austria) used those words: others like Turkey and Iran spoke of the October revolution without mentioning that it was socialist—no doubt because of the repression they still maintain against socialism in their own country. And the larger, more advanced capitalist states—sending greetings, we may be sure, only because there was no help for it, in the world situation as it has developed over this half-century—could only grind out a reference to 'your national holiday': such were the messages from Queen Elizabeth, President Nixon, President Leone of Italy, President Pompidou of France. The phrase did not leave much doubt about whom they would have preferred to be congratulating, in place of the Soviet Union—and that, too, was an indication of the victories of socialism there! It was not without justification, therefore, that in his address on Red Square on November 7, made on behalf of

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the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Soviet Government, Defence Minister Andrei Grechko warned his hearers (in many countries) that 'aggressive imperialist forces continue to operate in the world. They stubbornly resist reduction of international tension and any peaceable actions by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. . . . The Communist Party and the Soviet Government draw due conclusions from this, and are taking the necessary measures for the further strengthening of the defensive capacity of our country.' Those who read the scandalous speech of Defence Secretary Lord Carrington at the Conservative Party Conference in October, calling for a European Nuclear Force—in face of the coming preparations for a European Security Conference—and the no less scandalous speeches in the House of Lords on November 1, in which Tory and 'Labour' peers alike treated the Soviet Union as an enemy, will have no difficulty in identifying one country at least where the aggressive imperialist forces referred to by Grechko are active (all the more because the rulers of France, at any rate, have made more than formal steps to co-operation with the Soviet Union in recent months).

Marx, Engels, Lenin on Nationalities

The mutual aid of the Soviet Republics is not a passing question of 1972. When, at the end of the month, the Soviet people celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the Congress of Soviets which founded the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on December 30, 1922, they will be bearing witness to the triumph of another basic principle of socialism—one which dates back not only to the establishment of the rule of the working class in November 1917 but earlier still to the foundation of the revolutionary Marxist party in Russia, and, still beyond that, to the fundamental propositions put forward by Marx and Engels, whose teachings Lenin and the Bolshevik Party have consistently followed. If, in the *Communist Manifesto* of 1848, the founders of scientific socialism said that, with the victory of the working class over its exploiters, 'the exploitation of one nation by another will also be put an end to': and, in a letter of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association in 1870, Marx drew out for British workers the lesson of the Irish people's struggle—that 'any nation that oppresses another forges its own chains': they foresaw also that gaining the right of separation could lay the basis for 'equal and free confederation' between the previously oppressed and the previous oppressors (the same letter): and that, as a result, fraternal aid from socialist countries could help

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'countries which have only just entered upon the path of capitalist production' themselves 'to shorten' the process of development to socialist society by making 'the productive forces of modern industry, converted into social property, serve all society as a whole' (Engels, Afterword to his article 'On Social Relations in Russia', 1894). The Russian Social Democrats, in their turn, laid down in their first programme of 1903—'when all ahead seemed dark as night'—that the overthrow of Tsardom must assure 'the right of self-determination for all nations forming part of the state'. In his writings of 1915 and 1916, on the question of self-determination, Lenin drew again and again on the works of Marx and Engels: and it was natural for the victorious October revolution to proclaim, in its *Declaration of Rights of the Peoples of Russia* (November 15, 1917), the sovereign equality of all such peoples, their right to separate if they wished, the ending of all privilege for any nation or religion, and the right of free development of national minorities. But even in the midst of invasion and civil war, the Bolshevik Party took up the further lead given by Marx and Engels. In its second programme—adopted in 1919, when the aims of 1903 had in the main been fulfilled—they proclaimed the need for 'special care and special attention' on the part of the Russian proletariat towards 'survivals of national feelings on the part of the working masses of the oppressed or unequal nations'—as an essential condition for 'genuinely stable and voluntary union' with them. When the invasions had been defeated, and restoration of the landowners and capitalists had become a lost cause, economic and cultural reconstruction was again on the agenda. The Tenth Congress of the CPSU in March 1921—the one which adopted the New Economic Policy—now laid down more precisely that 'the task of the Party consists in helping the working masses of the non-Russian peoples to catch up with central Russia, which is in advance of them.' Mutual aid in the military sphere by various Soviet Republics which had sprung up outside central Russia had already become close during the foreign invasions of 1918-20: now, by transferring whole factories from Russia to the less advanced Republics (for example, from the large textile centre of Ivanovo to Armenia), by recruiting large groups of skilled workmen to go to Central Asia and help in reorganising industry there, by giving training as skilled workers to young people from the non-Russian areas, by sending out doctors and teachers, by seconding politically experienced women organisers to the Moslem areas to develop co-operatives and encourage local women to take part in them and in other social work, the Congress

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resolution began actively to be put into practice. The policy was only in its early stages, however, when the Soviet Republics were invited to attend the first international conference at Genoa in April 1922. There the rejection of all Soviet proposals for disarmament: the rejection by Russia's border states, from Finland in the north to Romania in the south, of subsequent Soviet proposals for arms reduction among themselves; the barefaced attempt of the imperialist powers to use famine conditions on the Volga, in 1921 and 1922, to impose the restoration of capitalist property in Russia: proved to the Soviet peoples, one and all, that close economic, political and military co-operation between them—on the basis of the socialist system—was essential. It was this principle that was recognised as urgent, in the last months of 1922, by Congresses of Soviets held in Belorussia, Transcaucasia, Ukraine and Russia: and that led, at a Congress elected by all of them, to the adoption of the Declaration and Treaty of Union in December 1922. The speeches of Stalin on behalf of the Soviet Government, made at Russia's Congress on December 26 and the Union Congress on December 30, can still be read with the greatest advantage.

Fifty Years Later

A wealth of reports for many years past, as well as those made public in this anniversary year, have brought out the consequences of forming the Union. First and foremost, all the non-Russian peoples have in fact been helped to 'catch up' with the Russians. The tiny peoples of the Arctic seaboard are no longer disease-ridden nomads, hunters and fishers living in Stone Age conditions, fleeced of their valuable products by private traders, a prey to witch-doctors and drink: they are healthy and literate, organised as co-operators, using up-to-date science and technique in their animal husbandry and their fishery alike, with an increasing number of industrial workers among them employed in factories and mines: and with their own teachers, research workers and poets writing, for the first time in history, in their own languages. The ancient peoples of Central Asia, no longer poverty-stricken and illiterate peasants, freed from the dead hand of emirs and beys who controlled water supplies in their droughty lands, no longer dominated by mullahs who laid religious bans on any social or economic progress, have moved into an age of individual prosperity such as even their famous feudal rulers of the Middle Ages never knew, with ever-expanding industry and more and more scientifically irrigated agriculture raising living standards by leaps and bounds; women released

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from the stultifying and barbaric isolation imposed by the veil and by social inferiority, occupying all positions in the state, in the economy and in culture; literature, the arts and sciences flourishing so brilliantly as to evoke the unconcealed envy of visitors from across their southern borders—from Iran, Pakistan, India, Afghanistan. The Georgians, Armenians, Azerbaijanis—nations whose ancestors were already organised states in the days of the later Roman Empire, but whom centuries of wars against powerful invaders, right up to the nineteenth century, condemned to ever-renewed conditions of feudal serfdom, foreign slavery, forced emigration—have today reached a degree of material prosperity and brilliant culture which the mass of the Russian people themselves did not enjoy fifty years ago: the homeward flood of 200,000 Armenians since the second world war, from all ends of the earth—Addis Ababa and New York, Egypt and France—is a particularly vivid testimony. The Slav peoples of European Russia who were subjected to the dead hand of Tsarist rule—Ukrainians, Moldavians, Belorussians—with enormously expanded economies, with a great cultural effort materialised in their own languages in thousands of schools, scores of universities and technical colleges, influential academies of sciences and literary journals, novels and volumes of poetry whose print runs into hundreds of thousands, ridicule the puny efforts of the handfuls of counter-revolutionary *émigrés* abroad to hide their fury at the *socialist* content of this growth behind falsehoods about 'national oppression' and 'Russification'. No less is this historic picture true of the Baltic peoples—Latvians, Lithuanians and Estonians—whose economy has moved from a basically agrarian stage (and a poorly developed one at that, as statistics demonstrate) to the industrial-agricultural one, which produces more and provides a higher all-round standard of living than these peoples could dream of when the main road of escape for youth from grinding poverty on the land and a high level of unemployment in the towns was to go as low-paid seamen on foreign ships or emigrate to the US. Their scientists are prominent among the scientists of the whole Union, their novelists rank as some of the most brilliant in the country and their artists, sculptors and architects have brought into Soviet art influential new trends, drawn from their own national sources. Indeed, this cross-fertilisation of cultures throughout the vast USSR—while they continue to grow and maintain their distinctive life in their own lands and among their own peoples—is one of the most impressive spiritual results of mutual aid in making the material steps to a common prosperity.

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No Republic but has its experience in recent years of festivals of art and culture from the others: no people but has nowadays the opportunity to read in its own language the novels and poems of most of the other peoples (as well, incidentally, as those of all the world's classical writers). And even the smallest peoples share in this: tiny North Ossetia, for example, on the hither slopes of the Caucasus, has contributed to the stage in Russia and elsewhere its own Shakespearian drama in its own language, and its own outstanding Shakespearian actor in Ossetian, Tkhapsayev, as a consequence of the training given to a group of Ossetian youth, over forty years ago, in the drama schools of Moscow.

Russia's Unique Contribution

Of course the Russian people, representing in 1970 129 millions out of the then 242 millions in the USSR (over 53 per cent), have as much to show. But the outstanding and unique contribution to history of the Russian Federation has been that its working class and peasantry have come to the aid of the previously underdeveloped economy and culture of the non-Russian peoples. Socialism—the dictatorship of the working class in place of the dictatorship of capital, leading the working peasantry in fraternal alliance instead of exploiting it (and most of the non-Russian peoples were overwhelmingly peasant peoples)—had already taken a hand after November 1917. And 1922 afforded a greatly widened opportunity. Union budgets themselves have from the first been an illustration of regular aid and allocation of resources, at first mainly Russian resources, in order to promote development among the non-Russian peoples, on a scale far greater in proportion than the proportion their populations bore to the Soviet total. No survey of conditions among these peoples—not only in 1972 but long before—but has underlined this lesson, that the mutual interest of the proletariat in each nationality, and of the proletariat and the peasantry throughout the Union, has been the cement which consolidated the country more and more firmly—both in material strength on every field and in moral and political terms. It is appropriate here to quote from the resolution adopted by an international conference convened by UNESCO, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (September 26—October 5, 1972) at Ashkhabad, capital of Turkmenistan. The subject of the conference was social and cultural changes in Central Asia in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries—and its findings have been strangely overlooked by the British press:

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> The celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the formation of the USSR is the triumph of Lenin's national policy, which has assured genuine equality, fraternal amity, all-round accelerated progress, unprecedented flourishing and *rapprochement* of over 100 nations and peoples, voluntarily united in a single socialist state. During the Ashkhabad Conference we studied the rich experience and practical results, the economic changes and cultural development of the Soviet Republics of Central Asia and Kazakhstan. We were convinced with our own eyes that the Soviet experiment of creating a multinational socialist state, successfully solving the most complex national question, assuring the effective social and economic progress of previously backward regions, the careful preservation and development of the national cultures of peoples, is of world-historical importance.

This was a fitting reply, fifty years later, to the Declaration of December 30, 1922, which proclaimed 'the union of Soviet Socialist Republics into a single Union state, powerful enough to ensure both external security and internal economic prosperity, and the freedom of national development of its peoples.'

Zionist Fables

At this point it would be wrong to leave without comment the way in which the millionaire press, faced with the overwhelming success of Soviet national policy, has seized on the anti-Soviet propaganda of the Zionists. Every one of the stock accusations they make is demonstrably false. 'There is discrimination against Jews because of their nationality': a lie. In industry, in any profession, civil or military, in the arts and sciences, Jews work at all levels (many at the top). Out of the 600,000 Soviet deputies in the towns (where most Jews live), 8,000 are Jews—a much higher percentage than Jews represent in the total population. In the Soviet Government, a Jew is Deputy Premier and there are seven holding rank as Deputy Ministers. 'There is discrimination against them in education': a lie. With under 0.89 per cent of Soviet population, Jewish students in technical colleges number 0.91 per cent, in higher education 2.5 per cent, and research workers 7 per cent. 'Jewish children cannot be sent to Yiddish-speaking schools': a lie. Where there are numbers of Jews living together, as in Birobidjan, there are such schools. But no more than 25 per cent of Jews use Yiddish as their main language (in the US, Britain and France the percentage is less)—and the majority, being in large towns, don't want to cut off their children from higher education and technical advancement. But for whom do the novelists and poets writing in Yiddish, for whom does the 25,000-circulation literary monthly in Yiddish cater—if not for people talking Yiddish (not to speak of singers and

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actors who perform in Yiddish)? 'The Jewish religion may not be taught to children': a lie. Their parents are free to teach them religion at home, like those of any other denomination. But religious teaching in the schools is forbidden to anyone, not only Jews (as it is in some capitalist countries). 'The study of Hebrew is forbidden': a lie. It is not a school subject: but it can be, and is, studied in faculties of oriental languages in universities. Once again, parents can teach it to their children at home, if they (and the children) wish. 'Jews are forced to have "Jew" inscribed in their passports': a lie. All Soviet passports attest a person's citizenship and also have a space for nationality: that expresses the equality of nationalities in the USSR. But everyone is free to say (just as in the census) to what nationality they regard themselves as belonging. 'Jews are not allowed to practise their religion': a lie. There are synagogues and prayer-meetings in all places where practising Jews live—which they are responsible for maintaining, as Christians, Moslems and other believers are, because the state does not subsidise religion. 'Jews are not allowed to practise their culture': another lie, as all the foregoing shows. What Zionists mean by this (otherwise meaningless) phrase is that teaching of the Jewish religion *in schools*, study of Jewish religious texts *in schools*, on the pretext of their being written in Hebrew, is not allowed. But no more is the teaching of any other religion, study of any other religious text, in schools.

Tomorrow in World History

On December 31, 1922—the day after the Declaration and Treaty setting up the USSR had been adopted—Lenin dictated the final sections of a letter he was writing to the next Party Congress about the importance of avoiding the slightest appearance or suspicion of dictation by Russians to the non-Russian nationalities of the USSR. The letter was in fact read to the leaders of all the regional delegations at the next Congress, in April 1923. He emphasised that such care was particularly necessary because of the prospect that hundreds of millions of people in Asia were likely to 'move into the foreground of history' in the near future. And his concluding words were: 'Tomorrow's day in world history will be precisely the day when there will finally awake the roused peoples who are oppressed by imperialism, and when the decisive, long and hard struggle for their liberation will begin.' Then and ever since the Soviet Union has had enormous problems at home to grapple with, but the awareness incumbent on any socialist of the ever-present and decisive factor in the world—its division into the socialist and the capitalist

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camps—made Lenin's words themselves become an extension of the principles first drawn out by Marx and Engels. Aid for the cause of national liberation, while maintaining peaceful relations with even the worst imperialist states, had already become part of an independent Soviet policy. In January 1922, Soviet Russia had handed over to the young revolutionary army of the Turkish Republic a vast quantity of arms (mostly British and French) captured when the armies of the White generals Denikin and Wrangel were routed in southern Russia. This enabled the Turks to defeat the Greek invasion of their country, despite its backing by France and Britain for whom the subservient autocracy of the sultans had been much more acceptable. Many other examples followed, which made the existence of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics a particularly potent factor in transforming the world since 1922.

Defending the Awakened Nations

No one should decry the inspiring heroism and self-sacrifice of the 42,000 'Volunteers for Liberty'—the men and women of the international brigades who came from many countries in 1936-38 to fight with the Spanish Republican Army (a million strong at its peak) in defence of national freedom against the Fascist rebellion engineered and supported by Hitler and Mussolini. But the Republican Army itself was able to fight effectively for so long thanks to the massive aid coming from the USSR, despite the sabotage of the British and French Governments and the attacks of Italian submarines on Soviet ships. At the very crisis of the civil war, in June 1938, 800 Soviet guns, 10,000 machine guns, hundreds of planes and 20 ultra-rapid torpedo-boats were stopped in France, to the eternal disgrace of the French Socialist Premier, head of the Popular Front Government, Leon Blum. Moreover, more than 2,000 Soviet volunteer specialists fought and trained Spanish soldiers too—772 airmen, 367 tankmen, over 100 gunners and many others.

Again, if the Chinese People's Liberation Army, led by the Communist Party, was able in 1946-47 to beat off the treacherous attacks of the Kuomintang forces—double its size at first and given vast supplies by the US—and ultimately to establish the People's Republic in 1949, this was due in no small measure to the ultra-modern weapons which the defeated Japanese Kwantung Army had surrendered to the Soviet Army in 1945, and which were passed on to the Chinese communists in the next two years. Up till then they had had to fight for years largely in guerrilla conditions. Now, with the help of 3,700 up-to-date guns and mortars, 600 tanks and 860

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planes provided by the USSR, they were able to smash right through Chiang Kai-shek's armies, which rapidly disintegrated.

If Cuba, invaded by United States hirelings in 1961 and blockaded by the US navy in 1962, has not suffered a repetition of these outrages since, it was not because of the widespread sympathy it enjoyed and enjoys among the people of all countries, but because the Soviet Union, by placing its long-range rockets on the island, extorted from President Kennedy a pledge not to invade Cuba, provided the rockets were withdrawn.

If the Egyptian army, routed and effectively disarmed in 1967 by treacherous Israeli aggression, backed by the US, has since been reorganised, given modern weapons and taught how to use them more effectively, it was not thanks to resolutions of sympathy in foreign countries—valuable though they were for other reasons—but by the efforts of the USSR, which sent large quantities of tanks, planes, other munitions and a great number of skilled instructors.

And today, when hundreds of American bombs have been located and brought down in the Vietnam Democratic Republic, before they could complete their blackguard missions, it has been due, not to protest meetings against United States aggression in many countries—important as they are—but to massive support in arms, equipment and instructors afforded most of all by the Soviet Union.

Peaceful Co-existence

There is, of course, another permanent feature of Soviet foreign policy since 1917, which received its remarkable expression during the Genoa Conference of 1922: not only the offers made to the assembled capitalist states which were rejected, but the conclusion of the Rapallo Treaty with Germany, which for the first time established equal and normal relations in peace time with a large capitalist state. This was the first page in Lenin's new chapter of the history of diplomacy—the policy of promoting the peaceful co-existence of states with different social and economic systems. So long as the workers in the capitalist states had not by their own efforts overthrown capitalism, the Soviet Republic could not reject relations with capitalist states—and not rejecting them, it was in duty bound to its own people to develop such relations in all practical directions. Its first trade agreement in fact was in 1921 with Great Britain—which not only was the oldest developed capitalist country, but was at the same time ruling Ireland, India, Egypt, Burma and many other subject nations with bloody repressions. For that very reason, its rulers hated Soviet Russia (as Churchill recalled publicly

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in his memoirs) and had desperately tried to destroy it—and, for that very reason, the establishment and development, albeit slow and uneven, of first commercial and then diplomatic relations between the two countries was a victory for socialism and a defeat for capitalism. So also the Rapallo Treaty was another socialist victory, and a defeat for the consortium of imperialist powers which had sought to bring Soviet Russia to its knees. In this field, too, the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics opened a new and higher stage of socialist influence on the world—not only military, as in the examples given above, but also diplomatic, using the arts of peace. At most stages some who imagined themselves more revolutionary than Lenin have poured out abuse and accusations against him and the Soviet Government. But the mass of the working class, and indeed thinking people in other classes concerned for peace, have always ignored or ridiculed such attacks. This year of celebration of the Union has provided some of the most striking examples of the success of the policy of peaceful co-existence: the further development of friendly relations with France, the settlement of central European frontiers by ratification of the Soviet treaty with West Germany (with its natural development in the Polish-West German and GDR-FRG treaties) and the important Soviet-American documents signed during Nixon's visit.

There, too, Lenin's words, and the words of Marx and Engels before him, the spirit of the October revolution and the Congress of December 1922, have found their material expression.

Andrew Rothstein

LABOUR MONTHLY FIFTY YEARS AGO

After being sixteen years in the British Government and six years at its head, Lloyd George has handed in his resignation. . . .

The last gifted leader of imperialism has retired. The last leader who possessed constructive ideas for the salvation of capitalism no longer found so much power as could have helped him to carry out these ideas. The bourgeoisie requires stupid but strong politicians. Yet these will not be able to save it.

The overthrow of Lloyd George will open the way for a new grouping. It will bring in its train an intense sharpening of the international situation.

(From 'The Overthrow of Lloyd George', by Karl Radek, *Labour Monthly*, December 1922)

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THE RICH AND THE POOR: HEATH'S CARVE-UP

Michael Meacher MP

IT is, of course, well understood that Tory governments stand for preserving the existing power structure, maintaining or increasing economic inequalities, and favouring the rich. What is unusual about *this* Tory Government is partly the unprecedented extent of the blatent redistribution to the rich and partly the ingenuity with which class favouritism has been concealed by pretensions to administrative rationalisation. The unification of income tax and surtax, Value Added Tax and now the tax credits proposals are prize examples of the latter.

What the Government itself likes to stress is, of course, rather different. We are regularly regaled with the list of new benefits introduced to help the poor: invalidity allowances, age-related pensions, extended old persons' pensions, improvements for the chronic sick and the two-tier attendance allowance for the severely disabled. What we are not told is that this entire package gives the poor less than £120 million a year, which is precisely 4 per cent of the tax reliefs which, on the Government's own claims, have been showered so munificently on the well-healed and well-connected. Even family income supplement, which has been widely hailed as the answer to the family poverty of low wage-earners, has given less than 100,000 families an average benefit of a mere £1.77 a week—a total of only £7 million a year.

Yet apart from the increases in proposed investment in the geriatric and other health services and in the personal social services—expenditure either largely on plant and therefore not concentrated exclusively or even mostly on lower income groups, or else expenditure increased largely on the middle class providers of these services—and apart from the normal annual benefit upratings which are the traditional and virtually automatic policy of all governments, this is *all* that has been afforded for the poor over the last two years.

By contrast, on the Government's own claim, more than £3,000 million has already been handed out in tax reliefs, and it is important to try to determine to whom precisely this has gone. Notoriously governments fail to publish any tables of the estimated income distribution effects of their measures, ostensibly because such distributions cannot be exactly calculated. Whilst this is true in a literal and precise sense, it is certainly very misleading to suggest

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that rough orders of magnitude cannot be established as to who gets what. And this exercise is so revealing that it is not surprising this Government is so coy about it.

The main impact on individual and family incomes has come from four main sources—National Insurance and Social Security Acts, three main budgets, the Housing Finance Act, and now the tax credit proposals. For all of these the *total* distributional effect, increasing or decreasing incomes *overall*, is known because the Treasury always calculates the total revenue effects, in increasing or decreasing tax requirements. To elicit the effects at given income levels, sometimes the Treasury provides the necessary information, and sometimes estimates must be made of the distribution, within a known global total, according to the most reasonable hypothesis available.

Regarding the three budgets, the first, the mini-budget of October 27, 1970, reduced Government Social Service expenditure by £135 million. The assumption is made that each of the items involved—the abolition of cheap welfare milk and of free school milk for the over-sevens, increase in dental and prescription charges, and higher school meals charges—applied proportionately throughout the earning population.

The second budget of March 30, 1971, involved an increase in child tax allowances (£207 million a year, according to the Treasury's Financial Statement and Budget Report), a 2½ per cent reduction in standard rate of income tax (£350 million), a 5 per cent reduction in corporation tax (£210 million), an increase in earned income relief (£38 million), wife's optional separate taxation (£12 million), disaggregation of a child's investment income (£15 million,) the abolition of the capital gains tax charge on death (£15 million), and an increase in the exemption limit for estate duty (£20 million). The assumption is made that nearly all the £100 million concessions from the last five items went to those with incomes over £5,000 a year. For the 2½ per cent income tax cut the distributional effects have been listed by the Treasury (*Hansard*, November 24, 1970, cols. 53-4) and the child allowance concessions have been added on proportionately.

The distribution of the benefit of the corporation tax cuts, however, remains problematic. This is partly because academic economists differ about how far such cuts are absorbed in profits and hence accrue fully to shareholders, or how far they are reflected in prices. It is also because up-to-date information about the structure of ownership of the corporate sector is not available, nor does it fully

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take into account indirect individual ownership of stocks and shares via life assurance and pension funds as well as investment and unit trusts, which in 1970 accounted for 33 per cent of the market value of quoted ordinary shares. But it can at least be said that the most recent authoritative economic judgement which arrived at a definite decision, that of Cragg, Harberger and Mieszkowski ('Empirical Evidence on the Incidence of Corporation Tax', *Journal of Political Economy*, December 1967), concluded that corporation tax cuts benefited shareholders almost exclusively. This can be linked with the fact that the latest academic evidence (*Oxford University Bulletin of Statistics*, 1961, p.90) indicates that the richest 1 per cent in the population own 81 per cent of company stocks and shares. This calculation took the life assurance sector into account, but excluded both pension funds and unit trusts, which would reduce the share of the 1 per cent richest, and also discretionary trust capital, which would *increase* the share of the 1 per cent richest. Though, therefore, precision is impossible on the evidence available, it is not unreasonable to attribute £160 million (i.e. four-fifths) of the gain from the 5 per cent corporation tax cut to those with incomes over £5,000 a year, who represented then the richest 1.2 per cent of the population.

For the third budget of March 21, 1972, the Treasury has itself indicated (*Hansard*, May 1, 1972, cols. 60 and 62) the distributional effects of respectively increasing the personal tax reliefs, certain reductions in surtax, and raising the investment surcharge by removing all unearned income up to £2,000 a year from excess tax above the rate for earned income

The second area of income change concerns social service benefits. For the National Insurance Act of July 1970 (£30 million) the assumption is made that the over-eighties and the age-related widows' pensions benefit only the lowest income group (less than £20 a week) and that attendance allowances are spread in proportion throughout the population. The Family Income Supplement Act of November 1970 and the extension of free welfare milk (£11 million) are assumed to benefit almost entirely the lowest income group only.

Pension and other increases under the National Insurance Act of May 1971 (£537 million) are allocated on the basis that the official survey *Financial and Other Circumstances of Retirement Pensioners* (1966) found that about 93 per cent had incomes below £20 a week. The higher national insurance costs (£475 million) are allotted partly according to employees' increased contributions, and partly (for employers' increased contributions) according to the total sum of earnings in each of the four income bands given in the

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Redistribution of yearly income produced by Government economic and social measures since June 1970 directly affecting personal income

Income bracket	Population in income bracket		Aggregate income gain/loss produced by:				TOTAL income gain (m.)	Average gain per person
	Million persons	%	Three budgets (m.)	Changes in social service benefits (m.)	Changes in housing subsidies (m.)	Tax credit proposals (m.)		
£1,000 or less	8.608	*39.7*	+£147	+£463	−£79	+£150	+£681	+£79
£1,000—£2,000	10.408	*48.0*	+£719	−£284	−£47	+£600	+£988	+£95
£2,000—£5,000	2.407	*11.1*	+£886	−£83	−£4	+£500	+£1,299	+£540
£5,000 or over	0.260	*1.2*	+£494	−£14	−£2	+£50	+£532	+£2,046
TOTAL	21.683	*100.0*	+£2,246	+£82	−£128	+£1,300	+£3,500	+£161

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table (on the assumption they are passed on in price increases). For the Social Security Act of May 1971, the loss from the ending of the first three days of unemployment, sickness and industrial injury benefit (£21 million) is allocated proportionately to the distribution of the earning population.

The third main area where income changes have been brought about by Government intervention concerns housing subsidies. To calculate the effects of the Housing Finance Act, the subsidy totals have been used as given by the Minister of Housing to the Standing Committee on the Bill (*Hansard*, Committee Proceedings, December 16, 1971, cols. 430, 458, 478; and December 2, 1971, col. 115). Given these figures, the assumption was made that the number of tenancies (or owner-occupied dwellings for future estimates of mortgage tax relief) continues to increase or decrease at the same rate as that experienced over the last five years. Where the best calculation available lay in a range of estimates, the moderate choice of the average or lower figure was made.

For the fourth and last main area of Government impact on income distribution, the tax credit proposals, the effects have been deduced from direct Treasury data (*Hansard*, October 23, 1972, cols. 196-7).

The combination of all this material, according to the stated assumptions, is put together in the table. What it indicates is that, whereas Labour raised taxes heavily for anti-inflationary purposes right across the broad spectrum of the population, the Tories have repaid it for anti-recession purposes in a manner overwhelmingly geared to the interests of the rich. The average member of the privileged group of the quarter-of-a-million persons with incomes over £5,000 a year has each gained a net extra £2,000 a year from Government measures over the last two years. In other words, they have been given more than 25 times the gains allotted to the poorest third of the population with incomes less than £20 a week.

It is in the face of this staggering perversion of social justice that Mr Heath's proposal of a £2 flat-rate wage increase as an instrument of fairness assumes the role of the sickest of sick jokes.

JACK DUNMAN 1911-1972

Jack Dunman's record in so very many diverse fields of activity makes his loss to the labour and progressive movement keenly felt in each of these areas in which he was an expert. His articles in *Labour Monthly* included *Land Workers' Conference* (1944), *Beef Crisis and Agricultural Policy* (1964), *Consumers' Co-operatives and the Future* (1970) and *Agriculture and the Common Market* (1972).

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A PROGRAMME FOR *NOW*

Alan Brown

THE grass roots of the British labour movement are flourishing, bustling with ideas and activity, determined to defend standards and safeguard conditions in face of a Government bent on jerking Britain to the right. The Tory freeze—coming on top of the Industrial Relations Act and bringing the state machine even more crudely into industrial relations on behalf of the employers, landlords and financiers—acknowledges the force of the movement from below.

The past year has seen militant (and successful) battles fought for the right to work and the right to a living wage. Such actions, the result of determination and confidence in victory (witness particularly the miners' strike tactics and the UCS work-in), have forced the Government to a realisation that the working people cannot be trodden on with impunity. But the seeds are present in the movement for greater victories than hitherto. Policies are coming forward which add up to more than a series of short-term skirmishes with a hard-line Government. Added to this, the need for a more long-term battle strategy is evident when one sees the grip which the right-wing still has on sections of the movement; clear also is the need to combat it by winning wider acceptance on new perspectives of struggle. That such policies have wide support was evident at the TUC in September and the Labour Party Conference in October.

The TUC challenged the whole right-wing façade in relation to the Common Market by calling (in a resolution passed by 4,892,000 to 3,576,000) for the repeal of the Act taking us into the EEC. The greater influence of the right-wing leaders at the Labour Party Conference (and the absence of Communist Party members and others from the union delegations) was seen when the engineers' resolution containing the straight principle of opposition, and withdrawal from the Market by the next Labour Government, was lost, though by a slim margin of 118,000 in five million votes. However, a successful Boilermakers' motion called on the next Labour Government to 'reverse any decision for Britain to join unless new terms have been negotiated, including the abandonment of the common agricultural policy and Value Added Tax, no limitations on the freedom of a Labour Government to carry out economic plans, regional development, extensions of the public sector, control of capital movement and the preservation of the power of the British parliament over its legislation and taxation'

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(carried by 3,535,000 to 2,867,000). The TUC called for action against wage restraint and measures to end unemployment. It demanded a national minimum wage, and decided to organise a lobby of parliament to demand a £10 pension (£16 for couples). It decided also to back unions which took action to gain equal pay.

Looking at the vitally important area of industrial policy, a comprehensive series of decisions emerged from the Labour Party Conference covering industrial relations, the wider implementation of Clause 4*, and an emphasis on firmer control by the people. A unanimous decision, stemming from a motion moved by the Transport and General Workers' Union, declared that Conference expresses 'total opposition to the Industrial Relations Act and calls for its immediate repeal. Conference declares that this shall be a major item in the manifesto for the next general election. . . .' It welcomed the TUC-Labour Party talks aimed at reaching an agreed policy on the basis of voluntary reform, 'and that no future legislation will be introduced which would provide for state interference with the independent operation of trade unions or allow for legal sanctions against trade unions or trade unionists in the field of collective bargaining.' Underlining the immediate dangers, and with a glance backward to Labour's *In Place of Strife*, a composite (National Union of Public Employees) declared that 'it is not possible to have an incomes policy which does not have harmful effects on the working class,' and went on to call for 'policies designed to seek control of our economy for the benefit of the wealth producers.' These, it suggested, included a redistribution of income and wealth, a high growth rate and full employment. Other proposals stemming from unions and constituency parties included a wealth tax, more stringent death duties on the rich, measures to end speculation in housing, food, land, pharmaceuticals and currency, the repeal of the proposed Value Added Tax, and international action to control the activities of the multi-national companies.

For the Conference decisions on industrial relations to have political validity they had to be allied to an attitude towards the economy which would make a sharp break with Tory Government policy and also with that of the movement's own right-wing. These there were in plenty. The traditional demand for more nationalisation (this time 'with the active participation of the trade unions and

* Clause 4, subsection (4): To secure for the workers by hand or by brain the full fruits of their industry and the most equitable distribution thereof that may be possible upon the basis of the common ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange, and the best obtainable system of popular administration and control of each industry or service.

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working people in general') was voiced at both conferences and taken a stage further at the Labour meeting by the unanimous and unprecedented decision that the oil industry be taken into public ownership and control. Of fundamental importance, this decision has added value in allowing the long-standing demand—spelled out at the TUC—for an integrated fuel policy to be implemented far more effectively (calls for integrated transport and port policies were also made). A series of decisions urged the implementation of Clause 4 in full, the development of the nationalised steel industry to its full potential, the re-nationalisation of the 'hived off' sections of public industries, the public ownership of land to be included in the next election manifesto, together with the building industry and the finance houses. There was also a decision demanding that the state initiate industries at the growth points of the economy.

Carried through, these decisions would give the people more control over their economic conditions, and would involve Government action to halt price inflation (although a specific demand for price control was not included in the decisions). Other anti-inflationary measures included calls for the Housing Finance Act to be dropped (with full support meanwhile for councillors fighting its effects locally), a 2 per cent interest rate for both Councils raising housing loans and private house mortgages. Conference also called for free school milk and meals, and for the health service to be free at the time of use (i.e. immediate abolition of all charges). Also in the social security field came the demand for a £16 pension for a retired couple (£10 for a single person), and an end to means tests for rents, rates, NHS payments, school meals and income supplements.

Foreign affairs played a less prominent role at the Conference, but the decisions showed a realisation that a progressive home policy cannot be based on reactionary policies abroad. Thus—again backing up a TUC decision—the National Union of Mineworkers, linked with the Surrey Federation of Labour Parties, put forward the demand, carried overwhelmingly, that the British Government should support initiatives to help bring about an early Conference of all European Governments.* It went on: 'The dissolution of Nato and the Warsaw Pact, the creation of a nuclear-free zone in central Europe and substantial measures of nuclear and general disarmament must be the main objectives. . . .' Allied to this was another enthusiastically-endorsed motion rejecting 'any British defence policy based on the use or threatened use of nuclear weapons either by this country or its allies' and demanding 'the removal of all nuclear

* TUC delegates also called for the recognition of the German Democratic Republic.

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bases in this country.' The movement was urged to reassess its approach to South Africa, the NEC to issue a statement 'designed to bring about an early end of apartheid and racism throughout southern Africa', and this was coupled with an eight-point plan to help give effect to this basic demand. Conference rejected the Tory proposals to accommodate the Smith regime in Rhodesia, and called for 'one-man one-vote' as the basis for acceptance or otherwise of any agreement reached, together with an intensification of sanctions and a strong UN inspection system to prevent sanction-busting. The TUC reiterated the long-standing 'No independence before majority rule' policy.

Such was the flavour of the two Conferences, derived from successful propositions coming from the roots of the movement. Any Government guided by them would take British politics a long way forward from today's quagmire of home measures aimed at holding down the working people, and of foreign policies which are isolating Britain as the protagonist of everything hidebound, reactionary and cold war.

But a distance separates the adoption of good conference policy resolutions and installing a government pledged to carrying them out and determined to honour its pledges. Labour-Tory bipartisanship—seen at its most insidious over the Common Market voting in the Commons—has to be ended once and for all. Bipartinsanship is the political continuity without which the Tories would find it a hundred times more difficult to rule at all, and ensures that basically Tory policies are implemented even when they are out of power.

Just as the Tories have their capitalist perspective, so the left in the labour movement must have its socialist perspective. Tory calculations, both short and long-term, are based on the desire to keep the *status quo*, to hold on to capitalism. To challenge them with any real hope of success means having a different perspective, one which would involve the prime necessity of switching economic ownership and control away from the small, parasitic clique of today, to genuine representatives of the people. Demands of a more short-term character, irreplaceable though they may be in providing points of battle for the movement, cannot be themselves alter the basic and dire problems of our society, stemming from its class-orientated structure. A long-term programme, such as is already contained in the demands now springing from the movement, may appear difficult in face of the powers ranged against the left-wing and the people as a whole. But it is the only bedrock for real advance. And it is a programme for NOW.

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CARR'S STORMTROOPERS

(In connection with the threatened new legislation on picketing we print the following article from the Journal & Graphic Review *of the National Society of Operative Printers, Graphical and Media Personnel of November 1972 which appeared over the initials D.H.—*Ed. *LM)*

THE current gimmick seems to group together all kinds of 'trouble makers', exaggerating their menace, and then presents the Government as the saviour of 'law and order'. There are many facets to this tactic—Lord Porn has played his part, and then Robert Carr announces his ideas to brush it under the carpet and is hailed as making a land fit for Tories to live in.

But the favourite target is pickets—pickets, like human beings, coming in various shapes and characters. Pickets have been selected as the current 'hate' target because of the success that mass picketing has had in persuading an otherwise obdurate Government or set of employers to negotiate an acceptable accommodation. Trade unions and trade unionists always believe that realistic negotiation is the best and easiest way to reach a settlement, thus making strikes and picketing unnecessary. The responsibility over the past period for the failure to reach a negotiated settlement flows from political error and miscalculation on the part of the Government.

But that most sinister of Tory ministers—sinister because he ably presents a front of reasonableness behind which his less amiable tendencies are hidden—Robert 'Securicor' Carr, showed a little of his true colours when he assured the Tory Party Conference that he would give new instructions to chief constables—who themselves were in considerable difficulties when faced with the outcome of Government policies.

There has been considerable brutality on the part of the police and certainly, at a dispute in Wales connected with Courtaulds, there is evidence of the result of pressure on chief constables to get their policemen to become more brutal. In passing it will be noted that Ted's two pound package was quickly rejected by the policemen.

Carr appears to have been incubating pro-fascist ideas during his Securicor association: it seems he, like the Tories, has learned something from Hitler. The face is different—the injured innocence of Carr contrasts with the ranting and raving indulged in by the other lot—but the same ideas seem to blossom of a new quasi-military police force to deal with any troublemakers—whether they

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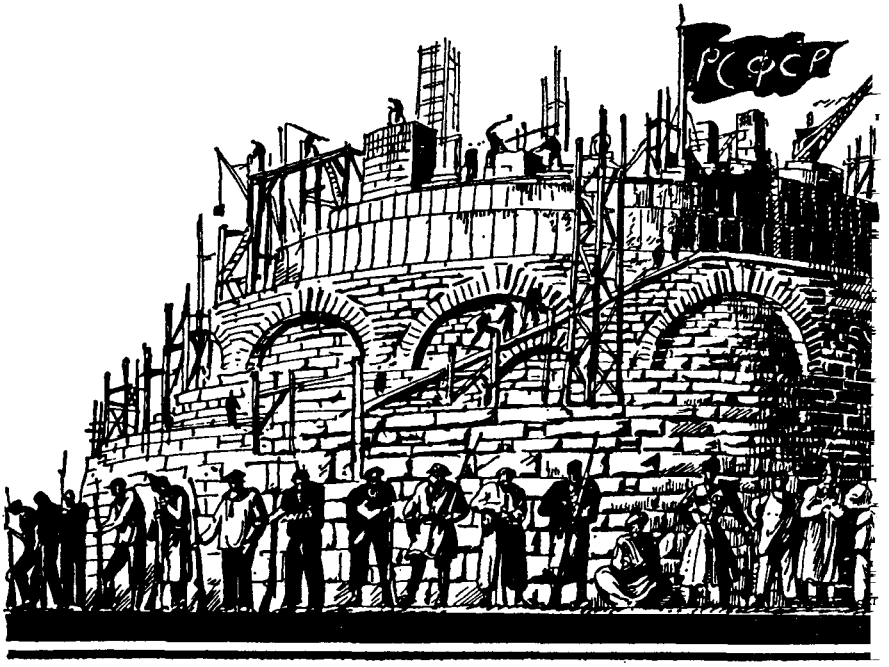
Building Soviet

In December 1922, just before the foundation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, a magnificent volume of nearly 600 pages appeared in Moscow, entitled (in Russian) *Five Years of the Power of the Soviets*.

Starting with an historical survey—the origin of the October revolution, the struggle for power and thereafter the development of the Soviets—the book told the story of the formation and working of every central government institution.

Each section had as heading or tailpiece a drawing by a leading graphic artist. Here are some. Underneath, on this page, is the heading for the Central Executive Committee of Soviets (the workers' and peasants' parliament). On the opposite page are the illustrations for the Railways Department (an immense building of new lines had begun), the Department of Labour (reconstruction of mines and works destroyed in the civil war was still in progress) and the People's Commissariat for Nationalities (in Russian script adapted to look like Arabic, typifying the great struggle in central Asia and Transcaucasia to encourage former colonial peoples to govern themselves).

Andrew Rothstein



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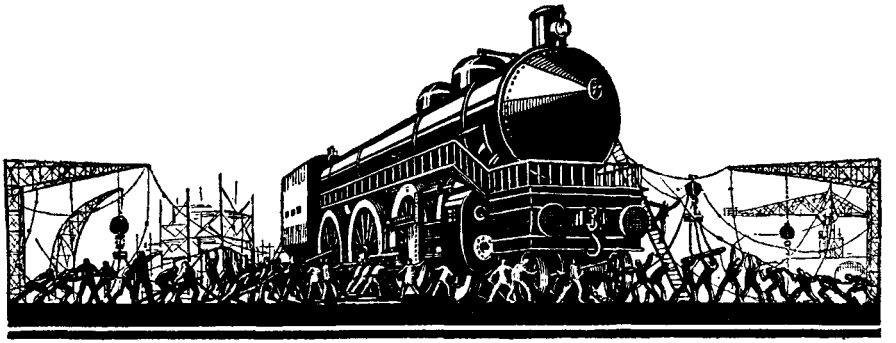

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are on the picket line, the university campus, or the football terraces. That's another thing we've been made to get steamed up about—true the violence on the terraces is not to be admired, but nihilistic policies and soulless educational factories won't bring forth a youth burning with enthusiasm for angel-faced intellectual pursuits. Just another chicken our masters find is coming home to roost.

Carr prepares to deal with the restless natives by a new army of police stormtroopers in addition to the special police which exist at the present time for these purposes. These 'specials' are being paid extra picket-bashing money—and harking back to the sixties they are the same crows that dealt brutally with CND demonstrators. Lately they have been at work in the Old Kent Road in a vicious attack on picketing printers and dockers, about which questions were raised in the House of Commons at the time.

Therefore, don't be railroaded into believing there is the necessity for repressive internal putsches. Don't let the Tory propaganda machine, having convinced you that things are getting out of hand (but conveniently forgetting that it was their policies that created the fertile soil for frustrations to grow), con you into accepting that we need to embark on an era of swingeing retribution. Note: it's seldom the fallen sons of the aristocracy that get this punishment meted out; generally it's the small time crooks and mugs that are made examples of. Neither do we need a stronger and specialised police force to protect 'us'. In reality, as always, it will be 'them' and 'theirs' which will be protected.

In the coming dangerous and complex political situation which will arise in this country, trade unions and trade unionists need to spotlight the dangerous neo-fascist manifestations and to quash them before they pass beyond the embryonic stage. It is us they will be used on next.

Tribute to D. N. Pritt

READERS OF *Labour Monthly* may be interested to know that at the 17th Congress of the People's Progressive Party held in the Corentyne, Guyana, on September 2-3, tribute was paid to the late Comrade Pritt. Our 500 delegates stood in one minute's silence in memory of our dear comrade. I gave some of the historical background of Comrade Pritt's activities and also, close to us, his brilliant defence of two of our members who were charged with treason after the suspension of the constitution in 1953. He obtained their release.

JANET JAGAN
Georgetown, Guyana

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PICKETING AND THE LAW

John Hostettler

DURING the miners' strike earlier this year large-scale picketing nearly brought industry to a standstill and was bound to have widespread repercussions. The ruling class has always abhorred picketing and has consistently been able to reduce its effect. This has been reflected both in law and practice, the twists and turns of which look like the spine of the mythical monster of Loch Ness.

In the history of law, picketing is first illegal, then partially legal, only to become something of both but always difficult to unravel and dangerous to the picket. In fact, before the mass picketing of the miners, which in itself could have been regarded as possibly unlawful but impossible for the police to control, the legal difficulties surrounding picketing often confined its use to small actions and resulted in its being of limited value in many strikes. Presumably it will now be used on a larger scale and more widely, unless the Tory Government can use the law and the police to intimidate workers involved.

In law, industrial picketing means peacefully attending premises to persuade men and women not to work, or to urge them not to blackleg or break a strike. Although the law does not admit so much, picketing is an essential weapon in the workers' strike armoury.

Today picketing is a perfectly lawful activity in the course of an industrial dispute or indeed otherwise. The right of peaceful picketing was finally established by Section 2 of the Trades Disputes Act of 1906; this has now been replaced by Section 131 of the Industrial Relations Act which has a narrower effect. This section provides that if a picket goes to a person's place of work or business or where he happens to be—*provided this is not his residence*—and does so only for the purpose of peacefully obtaining or communicating information, or persuading him to work or to refrain from work, then his action shall not constitute any crime. Not that picketing is a crime anyway! What is a crime, by virtue of Section 7 of the Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act 1875, is for a person to:

1. Use violence or intimidate another person or injure his property.
2. Persistently follow another person about from place to place.
3. Hide any tools, clothes or other property of his.
4. Watch or beset his house or any other place where he lives or works, carries on business or happens to be.
5. Follow him with two or more other persons in a disorderly manner in or through any street or road.

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Clearly, it is not always easy to assess whether particular acts of picketing are legal or not but as already indicated it has not always been lawful at all. In the first half of the last century the judges felt deeply that workers should not interfere with the freedom of action of employers. So blind were they to the right of freedom of action by the employees that in 1859 parliament was forced to enact a statute known as the Molestation of Workmen Act. This gave slight relief to workers involved in peacefully persuading others to quit work. Not an easy thing to do when in 1854 alone some 3,000 workers were sent to prison for leaving or neglecting their work. In any event the judges took little notice of the Act, considering workers who were in need of it to be misguided or misled. It was, important however, as the first attempt to legalise picketing by legislation.

Yet even as late as 1871 a woman was convicted for saying 'Bah' to a blackleg! However, in that year a large Liberal majority elected on the new town franchise passed an Act which reduced the impact of the criminal law although it also destroyed the 1859 Act.

The growing power of the working class and its extended vote then forced Disraeli to secure the passing of the 1875 Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act. This permitted peaceful picketing subject to the five legal limitations on p. 559. Under this Act, 'intimidation' had to involve an act of violence or a real threat thereof. The courts were not long, however, in intervening again to limit any liberal attitude to picketing the Act might bring about. And in 1896 the Court of Appeal reached a decision in the case of J. Lyons & Sons *v.* Wilkins that in effect rendered all picketing illegal. Peaceful picketing, the court said, was unlawful as a common law nuisance and was wrongful 'watching and besetting'.

It thus remained legal to say to a blackleg: 'This job is black.' But for adding 'Don't do it' a picket could end up in jail for twelve months. This case was only overruled by the Trades Disputes Act 1906.

In spite of that Act, however, a picket must not obstruct the highway, and this, in my experience, has been the ground on which pickets have been most frequently arrested. In the case of Tynan *v.* Bulmer in 1965 it was decided that a picket had no right to obstruct the highway even to communicate peacefully with an incoming lorry driver or to persuade him not to deliver to the employer. In practice, what forms an obstruction is usually decided by the policeman whose assessment is likely to be accepted by the court.

Similarly picketing, otherwise lawful, becomes unlawful if a police officer is obstructed in the exercise of his duty even though

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he may conceive his duty to be to curtail the picketing. In the case of Piddington *v.* Bates in 1960 a police officer decided that if more than two pickets were posted at the rear entrance of a printing works there was likely to be a breach of the peace. No violence was threatened or used and no breach of the peace occurred but a worker who joined the pickets was convicted of obstructing the police officer in the exercise of his duty under the Prevention of Crimes Act 1885.

Not surprisingly, most legal and industrial commentators think the law strong enough already to prevent non-peaceful picketing. Indeed, it can be used to prevent lawful picketing in many cases. Furthermore, mass picketing, such as took place at the Savoy Hotel in 1947, can be declared unlawful as a common law nuisance, and probably only the overwhelming strength of the miners and their support from workers in other industries prevented that happening earlier this year.

At present the overriding factors remain the strength, discipline and peaceful action of the workers, coupled with how far in return the government and the police are prepared to act reasonably. Proper organisation on the part of the workers with maximum participation as well as solidarity from other sections are also essential.

At the very least, new legislation aimed at restricting workers' hard-won rights still further should be vigorously resisted. What is really needed, however, is legislation to clarify and extend the right to picket peacefully and to restrict the unending search by the courts for means to discriminate against workers in favour of their employers.

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MR TROLLOPE'S VIEWS ON PICKETING

Angela Tuckett

HERE is a building trade employer, Mr G. F. Trollope, answering questions about picketing.

'Our works were picketed morning, noon and night. Several men who came up from the country came to us and said: "I am sorry I cannot stop; but when I go out the men follow me, my wife is annoyed and my children get hooted at in the street, and therefore I really cannot stop".'

Questioner: 'So that, in short, although there is no actual physical violence towards the man, there is that sort of social violence which prevents his following his employment?'

Mr Trollope: 'Quite so. There were two or three men taken up before the magistrate; the magistrate not finding there was any violence actually committed, the men were discharged. One or two were convicted because they shook their hands in a man's face, or did something which amounted to more than insult by word of mouth.'

Questioner: 'You consider this social violence, if I may so call it, quite as effective as if it were physical violence?'

Mr Trollope: 'Yes, just as much so as if the men were knocked down. This which I hold in my hand is a list of the "blacks" circulated, that is to say, the unionists were not to work with any of those. . . .'

Questioner: 'They published this description, and that was an intimation to the world that no other men were to work with those named in the list?'

Mr Trollope: 'Yes.'

Questioner: 'Have you found that since the general establishment of unions there has been a less amount of work done in a given time?'

Mr Trollope: 'I cannot speak to that, because they say that the unions had begun to be established before my time, but I mean to say that it has been growing worse and worse. I have sometimes said to some of my men who were at work in the joiners' shop: "Now, come, do you mean to say that that is a fair day's work?" And the answer has been: "Well, sir, it is not, but I am not allowed to best my mates." That means "I am not allowed to do more than others. . . ."

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Their theory is this (and a most absurd theory it is), that if there is work for three men to be done, and they can somehow scheme it that four men shall be employed, they are doing their cause a service, and then they tell us: "If it is on day work it does not matter a pin to you—the public have to pay for it, and you can put your profit in the wages. If it is a contract we can understand how you may lose, but if it is not, what is the difference to you?" I say that it is a most unrighteous state of things and I have often said that I was so disgusted with the system that I should be glad to leave the business altogether.'

Nevertheless, Mr Trollope resisted that temptation, even though he did not win the dispute he was describing.* It was, in fact, his firm's attempt in 1859 to force all his employees to sign the notorious 'Document', which pledged them not to join a union. Mr Trollope's firm, or its successor, is still making a sizeable profit 113 years later.† Building and building materials are still not under public control and ownership; and that is a major factor in preventing people having a roof over their heads at a cost they can afford. In 1867, Mr G. F. Trollope was looking with back nostalgia to the good old days before unions became powerful. Here are some other views which he expressed.

Mr Trollope: 'When I first came into the business we have a number of constant men. I was very happy to say, and used to boast of it, that we had men who had been 30 or 40 years with us. We had a respect for them, and they for us, and if we said to them: "Mr So-and-So is coming to town, and he wants his house done, so drive

---

* The evidence of Mr G. F. Trollope given on April 30, 1867, before the Royal Commission on Trade Unions and Other Associations.

† The Labour Research Department gives the following information on Mr Trollope's successors:

Trollope & Colls Holdings was acquired by Trafalgar House Investments in December 1967. Trafalgar House is a property-owning, property-developing, building empire which last year acquired the Cunard Steamship Company and is currently trying to obtain control of Bowater Corporation, the paper manufacturing company. The latest profits of the Trafalgar House group are:

	Sales (£m)	Trading Profit (£m)	Ordinary dividend (£m)
12 months to end of March 1971	128	12.9	2.15
6 months to end of September 1971	65	6.8	1.41

The chairman of Trafalgar House is Nigel Broackes, and his pay is £25,000 a year, plus dividends he receives on the shares he owns in the company: 4 per cent. The largest shareholder in the company is Commerical Union Assurance Group who own 12 per cent of the shares. In 1971 the company donated £1,750 to the Economic League, and had 12,655 employees in the UK (excluding Cunard). The company had assets at September 30, 1971, of £177 million.

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along," these men would enter into the thing with readiness. I am sorry to say that that spirit is utterly gone.'

Questioner: 'Has the change been that the relation between you has become that of hostile overcaution?'

Mr Trollope: 'I say that the individuality of the men in dealing with us as employers is lost in their being absorbed in the unions. I do not wish to speak ill of the unions except that I think they have acted very prejudicially to the men themselves as well as to the masters.'

Questioner: 'You say that they have raised wages, do you not?'

Mr Trollope: 'I think that wages would have risen in just the same way, though not so fast perhaps. . . . In our individual firm we used frequently to say to the better men: "Well, now we will give you so much more." We used to pick them out. But the raising of all the wages indiscriminately, I dare say, would not have been done except by the unions. . . . I think their tendency has been to bring all down to a dead level, and to repress the energy and zeal of the men.'

The energy and zeal of 'the lump' had not been invented in Mr G. F. Trollope's day.

CORRESPONDENCE:

Ecology

As H. W. BROWN points out (*LM*, November 1972), some environmentalists despise efforts by everybody else as being middle class and therefore futile. Surely it is on account of their relatively comfortable circumstances that these people have the *time* to concern themselves with such issues. Many, especially the young, feel the need to do some sort of concrete job, besides 'just talking', and, as H. W. Brown says, what *do* they talk about? It would surprise the way-out lefts, who think that everyone else is out of step, how far these despised people have progressed in their thinking. Allies are needed on all fronts in the battle for progress.

C. MARSH
Hale, Cheshire

Whither Labour?

ATTLEE's 1937 book was *The Labour Party in Perspective* not . . . *in Parliament* (*LM*, October 1972, p. 438). On page 93 he wrote: 'In contradistinction to Conservative Conferences, which simply pass resolutions that may or may not be acted upon, the Labour Party Conference lays down the policy of the Party and issues instructions which must be carried out by the Executive, the affiliated organisations and *its representatives in parliament*'. After he became Prime Minister, Attlee had different ideas which still persist today, in that the Labour Party exists to do the donkey work of finding the money and the votes, and after election Labour MPs are a law unto themselves.

SIMON SPITAL
London, E.1.

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WAGES AND INFLATION

Peter Tait
Secretary
Grimethorpe Branch
National Union of Mineworkers

IN spite of promises to the contrary, made by Tory and right-wing Labour politicians alike, that never again would they resort to wage freeze policies, it seems that we are back on the roundabout once again. Heath talks of a £2 wage increase ceiling; Harold Wilson puts forward a slightly larger figure. The purpose of those 'income policies' is supposedly to end the inflationary spiral which is causing so much hardship to the ordinary people—the low paid, the senior citizens, the unemployed and the sick.

Like all previous wage freezers, from the austere Stafford Cripps, to Selwyn Lloyd, George Brown and now the 'yachtsman', they all blame excessive wage demands for inflation. They carefully select their statistics to 'prove' that earnings have risen faster than prices and productivity, thus pushing prices up in never-ending spiral.

There are still thousands of workers fooled by this argument. It must be pointed out that at the starting line prices and profits are already ahead of wages, and from this point on it is because the cost of living increases that the unions are given grounds to ask for wage increases. 'Oh for the day when we have £100 in the purse waiting for prices to increase.' Secondly, how can prices be controlled in a system which feeds on maximum profit?

We are always fighting a losing battle against the cost of living. Ask any housewife about price increases week by week. Ask them what happened on the introduction of decimal coinage. This Government has devalued the pound, it is racing into the Common Market and VAT; these mean further price increases. They are intent on doubling rents in the next few years. Young people who may decide to buy their own homes please note: rates will rise drastically and house prices have risen nearly 39 per cent in the last 18 months.

What is new today compared with the nineteen-twenties and thirties is the big swing to the left in the policies of the trade unions (which would be more effective if they were not handicapped by having to nurse the invalid TUC), the increasing of political consciousness in the ranks of the workers, especially the young. There appears to be no weakening of the united front, even with a million

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on the dole, a situation which usually benefits the employers. Yes, the feeling is there, that this system of living should finish once and for all. However, it must be made crystal clear that this periodic tightening and loosening of belts, apart from being bad for the stomach, is no cure for the diseases inherent in capitalist society. It must be shown that when we see the 'national cake', and it is pointed out to us that this is the money that is available, and when successive governments proceed to manipulate the kitty by raising pensions, lowering family allowance, reducing income tax, putting up road tax, or whatever else they decide to do, this has absolutely nothing to do with redistributing the wealth of the nation. There is another 'cake' (profits-dividends) which is sacred and too rich for working class palates, and until we start implementing Clause 4 of the Labour Party Constitution, until we nationalise the basic industries and the houses of finance, then we are only toying about with the idea of doing away with the capitalist system and its related evils.

I think the classic example of what happens when a union tries to parley with the employer and the Establishment must be that of the NUM. Year after year we were made to accept right-wing policies and their accompanying knighthoods, and in the 20 years up till 1969 output per manshift rose from 25cwts to 43cwts. Man-power was slashed from 700,000 to 280,000 men; the number of pits was reduced from 900 to 220; proceeds per ton rose from £2.60 to £6.50 per ton. Wages dropped from first to sixteenth place in the national league and the situation would have worsened if it had not been for the stand that was made in 1969 which culminated in the action this year. So the moral of the story to all unions should be: 'Fight like hell to retain what you have, and fight even harder to improve your position.'

Any compromise with wage freeze, threshold agreements, package deals, productivity agreements, means, in the long term, wages lost that can never be recovered, profits made which we shall never see.

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THE MUNICH DRAMA (3)

I. M. Maisky

(In this third instalment Academician Maisky deals with Hitler's rape of Austria and the Czechosolvak crisis in the spring of 1938—Ed. *LM)*

ON February 20, 1938, Eden resigned. Lord Halifax took his place. In my diary there is an entry dated March 1: 'Today Halifax received all the Ambassadors in turn. Monck (head of the Protocol Department) . . . warned each of us that we had ten or fifteen minutes . . . In view of the shortness of time I put just two questions to Halifax: about Spain and central Europe.'

In answer to the second Halifax said: 'Britain considers she has an interest in this part of Europe, but she cannot commit herself in advance. Everything will depend on the circumstances.' It was a position that seemed to be specially created to tempt Hilter and provoke him to aggression.

On March 12, 1938, Hitler carried out his lightning annexation of Austria. As if wanting to scoff at Chamberlain, he carried out this act of banditry on precisely the day when the British Prime Minister received Ribbentrop, newly appointed German Minister of Foreign Affairs, at an official luncheon. Halifax asked Ribbentrop for an explanation. The latter stated that the solution of the 'Austrian problem' was a very good thing; Hitler was only trying to unite all Germans within the borders of the Third Reich. Now this had been done and the door was open for Anglo-German friendship. The British Government reacted to this scandalous act of aggression with no more than paper protests. The French Government acted in the same way. The talk between Hitler and Halifax in November 1937 had brought its first fruits.

After this, Hitler and Goebbels began to give persistent assurances to the whole world that their final aim was 'the assembly' of the German nation under one state roof, and that, as soon as this was accomplished, the Third Reich would become a peaceful, tranquil and respectable state. The Cliveden set joyfully took up this hypocritical assurance. I remember having a talk with Lord Lothian, subsequently British Ambassador to the United States, soon after the annexation of Austria. In reply to my criticism of the way in which the British Government had behaved over the Austrian question, he said: 'Hitler only wants self-determination for the German nation. Doesn't your Government share this principle?'

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Whereas in London and Paris official circles believed or pretended to believe Hitler's soothing assurances, in Moscow no illusions were harboured on this point. On March 17 Maxim Litvinov, Foreign Affairs Minister, gave a press interview in which he sharply condemned German aggression and emphasised that Czechoslovakia was now in jeopardy. He proposed an immediate discussion inside or outside the League of Nations on the question of measures capable of halting the further development of aggression. On instructions from Moscow, I handed the text of the interview to the British Government, with an accompanying note which stated that what Litvinov had said expressed the views of the Soviet Government. The same thing was done by the Soviet Ambassadors in Paris and Washington.

On March 24 I received from Halifax a long note which stated that the British Government would 'warmly welcome the assembly of an international conference, at which it might be expected that all European states . . . would consent to be represented'—that is aggressors and non-agressors! The British Government objected to the convening of 'a conference only attended by some of the European powers and designed . . . to organise concerted action against aggression,' for in the view of His Majesty's Government such a conference would not necessarily help peace in Europe!

That meant that instead of struggle against the aggressors, there were to be fruitless talks with them! In other words, drops of soothing syrup for the great mass of the people so that the aggressors would have time to prepare fresh acts of aggression. That was what Chamberlain wanted! The reaction of Paris and Washington was no better than that of London.

Hardly had Hitler devoured Austria than the atmosphere in Europe was again raised to fever pitch. This time it was Czechoslovakia that was threatened. At the time of the annexation of Austria Goering had three times sworn to A. Mastny, the Czechoslovak envoy in Berlin, that his country was not in the slightest danger from Germany. At the same time Goebbels was howling furiously all over Europe about the bitter fate of the three million Germans in the Sudeten region of Czechoslovakia. They also, it seemed, belonged to the German nation and were subjected to all kinds of oppression from the Czechs. They had to be reunited with their natural fatherland—the Third Reich—as soon as possible.

This obvious preparation for a fresh act of aggression aroused great perturbation in the West. There was a particularly sharp reaction in France, linked with Czechoslovakia by the mutual aid

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pact of 1925 and, in the event of Germany attacking Czechoslovakia, under an obligation to come to the support of her ally by force of arms. In French ruling circles there had for a long time been vacillation about the way France would behave in the event of danger to Czechoslovakia; the majority, however, were still in favour of fulfilling their obligations. This brought into prominence the question of Britain's behaviour in such a situation.

Under pressure from France, Chamberlain was obliged to arrange in London on April 28-29 an emergency meeting of the Ministers of the two powers. France tried to get from the British Government an unequivocal assurance that, if she took action against Germany, Britain would support France by all means in her power, even to the extent of open participation in war. Chamberlain, however, behaved so ambiguously and vaguely that he undermined the faith of his closest ally in Britain's reliability. This meeting marked the start among top ruling circles in France of the process which five months later led to the French Government's refusal to carry out its obligations to Czechoslovakia. Another contributory factor was the appointment of Bonnet, one of the most sinister figures on the horizon of the Third Republic, as Foreign Minister in April 1938.

The attitude adopted by Chamberlain at the Anglo-French meeting was due to the fact that he had already reached a conclusion which can be formulated approximately in this way: peace with Hitler at any price, and consequently . . . Czechoslovakia must be forced to capitulate to Hitler. Early in May an American correspondent in London told me that a few days earlier the Prime Minister had spoken at an unofficial luncheon given by Lady Astor for American and Canadian journalists. The essence of Chamberlain's speech was: neither France nor the Soviet Union, and even less Britain, would fight over Czechoslovakia, which could not continue to exist in her present form; Britain's policy was that the Sudetenland should be handed over peacefully to Hitler and after that a four-power pact should be concluded.

Not long before that luncheon the British Minister of War declared in a confidential talk with American correspondents that Czechoslovakia's fate had been decided: Germany would become sated in central Europe before the West was able to stop her. The line of thought of the British Prime Minister and his colleagues could only lend wings to the fascist aggressors. Hitler decided that the moment had come for the next leap. He sent to London Henlein, the Sudeten German leader who was trying to present himself and his Nazi movement as genuine representatives of common sense, ready to

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accept the most sensible compromise with Czechoslovakia. Thanks to the protest made by the Czechoslovak envoy in London, Jan Masaryk, Chamberlain did not receive Henlein, but influential figures close to the Prime Minister had lengthy talks with him, including Churchill, Eden and Vansittart. At the same time Hitler started a frenzied campaign against Czechoslovakia and, in the middle of May, moved several divisions up to her borders. He was waiting for France and the USSR, which had mutual aid pacts with Czechoslovakia, to repudiate their obligations, for Britain to occupy a neutral position and for the Prague Government to submit without a single shot. Disappointment was in store for the Führer.

Having received negative replies to all their March proposals that an urgent conference be called to seek measures to combat aggression, the Soviet Government did not sit idle. At the end of April a meeting was held in the Kremlin at which it was decided to draw to the attention of the Czechoslovak Government the fact that the USSR was ready to take, in co-operation with France and Czechoslovakia, all measures (including military ones) to ensure Czechoslovakia's security if it were asked to do so. Mikhail Kalinin, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, stated that, although the Soviet-Czechoslovak Mutual Aid Pact made Soviet assistance dependent on French aid, 'the pact did not forbid each of the states coming to the other's assistance without waiting for France.' This encouraged Czechoslovakia considerably and had a certain influence on the positions of France and Britain.

It is true that on May 7, on the instructions of their Governments, Newton, the British Envoy in Prague and de Lacroix, the French Minister, put strong pressure on the Czechoslovak Government, demanding that it go as far as possible in yielding to Germany: nevertheless, ten to twelve days later Chamberlain and Deladier had to make a protest to Hitler against his predatory intentions. At the same time the Czechoslovak Government, with 40 well-armed divisions at its disposal, declared a partial mobilisation of its army.

Hitler decided to retreat for the time being. On May 23 Ribbentrop assured the Czechoslovak envoy in Berlin, A. Mastny, that Germany had no hostile designs in relation to his country, and the anti-Czech campaign initiated by Goebbels died down. At the same time, however, Hitler gave instructions (1) to Henlein to create a smoke-screen by entering into negotiations with the Czechoslovak Government on the settlement of the 'Sudeten question', (2) to the German army command to prepare for armed aggression against Czechoslovakia by October 1, 1938.

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BOOKS

The Path of Valour
Semyon Budyonny
Progress Publishers (Central Books),
444 pp., £1.25

IN NEARLY FOUR hundred and fifty pages and a rather sketchy map at the end, Budyonny describes vividly, and mostly from his own personal experiences, the cruel and savage civil war in southern Russia between 1918 and the final defeat of Denikin in March 1920. From Platovskaya, south-east of Rostov, where the Red Cavalry detachment was formed, the reader follows the ebb and flow of the struggle; north through Tsaritsyn, north-west to Voronezh then south via Rostov to the final victories at Maikop. The White Guard armies of Kaledin, Mamontov, Denisov, Sidorin and Denikin, well equipped by the French and British, had their basic support in the privileged position of the Don and Kuban Cossacks. They commanded highly mobile armies comprising large forces of Cossack cavalry backed by armoured trains, artillery and infantry.

In the early stages the Red Army was predominantly infantry, with poor equipment and lacking experience, although backed by partisans, workers and poor peasants. In the course of the fighting the Red partisan cavalry detachment became a regiment, brigade, divisions and finally, the terror of the Whites, the First Cavalry Army. During the same period Budyonny, who had ended his service in the first world war as an NCO, graduated in battle as the outstanding cavalry leader and finally commander of the victorious First Cavalry Army. He was a soldier who led from the front, becoming a brilliant tactician, striking the hammer blows which, time and again, routed numerically superior enemy forces.

In the early stages of the war Budyonny had to persuade his colleagues, and particularly the Revolutionary Military Council, that the enemy could only be defeated by the creation of a mobile army able to outmatch it in everything—above all, by the devotion to duty, faith and heroism of its soldiers. In the process, many obstacles had to be overcome, including the traitors in their own ranks.

It was done, and the result of this war was to crush the counter-revolution. As a consequence, the coal of the Donetz basin, the grain and other resources (sadly depleted at this time) of the Don and Ukraine, were now firmly in the hands of the young Soviet Government and its people. In his graphic account, Budyonny tells of his letters to and messages from Lenin, and his meetings with Stalin, Trotsky, Orjonikidze, Voroshilov, Timoshenko and Tukhachevsky, among others.

Despite his 89 years, Budyonny promises us further volumes. I personally hope he manages to complete these sequels to a most informative and gripping book.

PETER KERRIGAN

The General Strike
Christopher Farman
Hart-Davis, 306 pp., £3.50

THE NINE DAYS of May 1926 continue to fascinate generations then unborn. The author of this serious and closely-documented work—a journalist in his mid-thirties—is a case in point. Some of his interpretations will not be acceptable to veterans of those days; but the material is there, including confidential reports of the TUC Intelligence Committee which are new to me, and are of considerable significance. G.A.H.

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Thalidomide and the Power of the Drug Companies
Henning Sjöström and Robert Nilsson
Penguin, 282 pp., 40p

THIS IS A PROFOUNDLY disturbing book concerning quasi-scientific areas about which the public are still largely unaware. It is, indirectly, the most powerful case ever expressed for the nationalisation of the drug industry.

The authors make crystal clear that the West German firm Chemie Grünenthal, which first developed Thalidomide under the name Contergan, behaved with criminal irresponsibility with regard to the sale and use of the drug. Proper testing and clinical trials were not made, despite warnings (before the occurrence of deformed children) that prolonged use of the drug would cause polyneuritis (a disease of the central nervous system in the extremities). Further, once Thalidomide had been indicted as the cause of deformed babies, the firm delayed in withdrawing the drug. Irresponsible and irresolute action by government departments, for example in West Germany and Japan, added to this sordid affair.

The hero and heroine of this story are the Director of Drug Control in the German Democratic Republic (who persuaded his Government to give full support and information to the prosecution in the Thalidomide trial in Sweden which was facing great opposition, not only from the drug firm Atra but also from the leaders of the Swedish medical profession), and Dr Kelsey who is a member of the US Food and Drug Administration and who, in the face of great opposition and pressure from some drug companies in the US, with powerful lobbies in the Senate, refused to allow permission for the drug to be used in America.

In conclusion, to quote from the book, 'the argument put forward by the pharmaceutical industry against any application of strict liability is that the drug industry is working for the benefit of mankind in a unique way and cannot be compared with other types of industrial enterprise. It seems that the pharmaceutical industry will not admit the fact that the main impetus for the running of the pharmaceutical industry, like any other type of industry in the West, is profit.'

NEIL TOBIN

Work
Colin Ward
Penguin, 64 pp., 30p

The Law Breakers
Roy Jenkins
Penguin, 64 pp., 30p

Break for Commercials
E. Rudinger and Vic Kelly
Penguin, 48 pp., 30p

SHAW ONCE WROTE that the best kept secrets are those that everyone knows. The authors of the Penguin Education 'Connexions' series manage to be very 'critical' without giving any of society's secrets away.

The series makes striking use of visual and verbal illustration to examine such aspects of the British way of life as advertising, work, crime, marriage and drug abuse. Its young readers are encouraged to question conventional wisdom, but within limits. For example, in this treatment, law and order have little connection with prevailing property rights; advertising implies free enterprise and choice (the opposite of which is totalitarian monopoly and the drab uniformity of communism); and workers' control is apparently compatible with capitalist production relations (though it certainly does not exist in the Soviet Union).

Inside the 'critical' packaging is the

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familiar old product: apologetics for the capitalist system. However, some of the techniques of presentation could be used by the progressive movement for quite different ends.

L.S.

The Strike in the American Novel
Fay M. Blake
Scarecrow Press (New Jersey), 296 pp., available on order from Collett's

THE AUTHOR SETS OUT to trace the use of 'the strike' in the American novel from 1870 to 1945. She does this well and in doing it has accomplished something additional and equally important. The book is a comprehensive study of the relationship of the artist to the prevailing social conditions in which he lived, and the effect this imposed on the treatment of strikes.

The author shows that, from the period of the industrial revolution in America up to about 1930, novelists used the strike as a handy vehicle to peddle their own particular brand of anti-working class bias or ignorance. Notable exceptions were Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle*, Dreiser's *Sister Carrie* and Jack London's *The Iron Heel*; interestingly, she points out that Jack London was the only one writing about the working class who was, himself, a worker. 'Very often, however, the attitudes which become apparent in the novels reflect unconscious fears or prejudices. There is a wide divergence between fact and fiction in these novels. The strikes in the novels all became uncontrolled riots accompanied by death and violence. Most real strikes of the time were dreary, undramatic rounds of meetings, picket lines and compromise agreements. The strikes in the novels are, almost without exception, lost. Most strikes of the time succeeded' (p. 40).

When the author reaches the period 1930-45, she makes an interesting observation on the twin phenomena of the great depression and the rise of fascism in Europe. They pervaded the life and literature of the decade—'gave birth to a new genre in literature,' namely the 'strike novel', novels about strikes as distinct from the use of a strike merely to create a dramatic incident. In the section on this period she deals with the divergence of opinion among left-wing writers and critics as to what constituted the 'proletarian novel'. Was it merely any novel that dealt with the working class or was it the novels which sympathised and identified with the ultimate triumph of the working class and socialism?

The 100 pages of annotated bibliography give a brief but pungent comment on over 200 novels. This alone is worth having on the bookshelf of anyone interested in the history of working class literature.

CHARLIE DOYLE

Fischer v. Spassky: Reykjavik 1972
C. H. O'D. Alexander
Penguin, 144 pp., £1

THE PUBLICITY and glamour of the match for the world chess title has attracted world-wide attention. This is undoubtedly the best account of the match for the average player and even for those with little or no knowledge of the game. The book by grandmaster Gligoric at half the price may provide more learned annotations, but this book, resplendent with many photographs, not only gives useful comments on the moves and the results, but also a full account of the history of the championship and the day-to-day course of the recent sensational encounter, and even a full explanation how games between masters are conducted.

CLEMENS DUTT

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